

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15

ICA-11 IO-13 HA-05 AID-05 ARA-10 /109 W

-----043001 151121Z /11

P 151003Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0072

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 5112

DEPT PLEASE PASS OAU COLLECTIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: XA MARR PORG LI

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT ON SITUATION IN ZAIRE AND
NAMIBIA; NETO ASKS TO MEET TOLBERT IN KHARTOUM.

REFS: (A) STATE 171696 (B) STATE 171521 (C) STATE 170380

1. USING MATERIAL IN REFTEL A, I DISCUSSED ZAIRE & NAMIBIA WITH
PRESIDENT TOLBERT JULY 14. I NOTED THAT WE WERE INTERESTED IN
EXPLORING WAYS IN WHICH THE U.S. MIGHT BE ABLE TO SUPPORT HIM
AND PRESIDENT NUMAYRI IN THE ZAIRE SITUATION. I NOTED THAT THE
ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN RESPONSIVE TO THE APPROACH MADE BY
AMBASSADOR MCHENRY AND HAD PROMISED TO WITHDRAW REFUGEES FROM
THE BORDER WITH ZAIRE IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE OCCASIONS FOR FRICTION.
I ASKED HIM IF THERE WAS ANY FURTHER NEWS ON THE POSSIBILITY
THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF LIBERIA AND THE CONGO MIGHT BE ABLE TO
PLAY A ROLE IN AMELIORATING THE SITUATION BETWEEN ZAIRE AND
ANGOLA. THE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT YESTERDAY HE HAD RECEIVED
GASPAR MARTINS, ANGOLAN MINISTER OF FINANCE, WHO HAD BROUGHT
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HIM A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NETO AND THE SUGGESTION THAT NETO
AND TOLBERT MEET TOGETHER IN KHARTOUM. TOLBERT SAID IT APPEARED
TO HIM THAT NETO WANTED TO BE SURE THAT TOLBERT WOULD BE PRESENT
AT KHARTOUM AND THAT NETO'S TRAVEL TO THEOAU CONFERENCE SEEMED
DEPENDENT UPON TOLBERT'S PLANS. TOLBERT SHOWED ME AN UNOFFICIAL
ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF A LETTER TO HIM FROM NETO IN WHICH NETO
HAD STATED THAT HE FELT THE CONTINUED ALIENATION BETWEEN ZAIRE

AND ANGOLA TO BE A "PAINFUL" SITUATION; THAT, THEREFORE, HE HAD MADE THE DECISION, IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE, TO WITHDRAW 250,000 REFUGEES FROM THE ZAIRE BORDER; THAT HE WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO THE CREATION OF A FRANCOPHONE MILITARY FORCE; AND THAT HE HOPED THAT PRESIDENT TOLBERT WOULD BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO AN IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA. TOLBERT SAID THAT HE PROPOSED AN ARRANGEMENT FOR PRESIDENT'S MOBUTU AND NETO TO MEET IN KHARTOUM. TOLBERT WILL ATTEMPT TO CONVENE THE MEETING.

2. I THEN EXPLAINED TO THE PRESIDENT THE U.S. POSITION WITH REGARD TO A PAN AFRICAN FORCE, NOTING THAT WE OPPOSED ANY PAF OUTSIDE THE AEGIS OF THE OAU, BUT THAT WE WOULD SUPPORT SUCH A FORCE ORGANIZED BY THE OAU.

3. PRESIDENT TOLBERT SAID THAT THE GOL POSITION WAS IDENTICAL. THE GOL WOULD SUPPORT A PAF COMPLETELY UNDER THE CONTROL AND SUPERVISION OF THE OAU. IF A MEMBER NATION CONSIDERED ITSELF IN NEED OF OUTSIDE HELP, IT COULD APPROACH ANY OTHER COUNTRY BUT THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE THROUGH THE OAU. INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO A PAF, HE SAID, SHOULD BE BASED ON THE SOIL OF THE CONTRIBUTING COUNTRY WHERE THEY WOULD REMAIN UNTIL REQUIRED. THE OAU COMMAND WOULD BE EMPOWERED TO ORGANIZE AN INTERVENTION FORCE BUT THIS FORCE WOULD HAVE TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE COUNTRY IN NEED. THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED REPEATEDLY THAT ANY FORMULA FOR THE CREATION OF A PAF MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE RIGHT OF A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY TO ASK WHOMEVER IT WANTS TO COME TO ITS
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AID, BE THIS FRANCE, ENGLAND, THE SOVIET UNION OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY. HE REMARKED THAT, AS AN EXAMPLE, IT WOULD BE REASONABLE, IN VIEW OF THE CLOSENESS OF LIBERIAN AND U.S. INTERESTS, FOR THE GOL TO ASK THE U.S. FOR ASSISTANCE IN CASE OF TROUBLE.

4. TOLBERT SAID THAT HE ADVOCATED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NON-AGGRESSION PACT AMONG AFRICAN COUNTRIES AS A STEP IN BRINGING AFRICANS TO CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY. THIS COULD BE FOLLOWED BY THE CREATION OF A DEFENSE PACT AMONG THEM. IF AFRICAN COUNTRIES FAIL TO WORK OUT MEANS OF SOLVING THEIR OWN PROBLEMS, THE CONTINENT WOULD INCREASINGLY BECOME AN ARENA OF EAST/WEST CONFLICT. THIS, HE SAID, WOULD ONLY HARM THE INTERESTS OF ALL AFRICANS.

5. I NOTED THAT PRESIDENT NUMAYRI OF THE SUDAN WOULD BE CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU COUNCIL FOR THE COMING YEAR AND THAT HE (TOLBERT) WOULD BE CHAIRMAN THE YEAR FOLLOWING. I ASSURED HIM THAT THE U.S. WOULD BE LOOKING FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH THEM BOTH. THE PRESIDENT COMMENTED THAT HE HAD WORKED CLOSELY WITH NUMAYRI ON THE OAU COMMISSION ON ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA. ACCORDING TO TOLBERT, BOTH HAD ATTEMPTED TO SPUR OAU ACTION IN THE DISPUTE BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA BUT HAD BEEN FRUSTRATED BY THE SLOWNESS OF NIGERIA TO REACT.

6. I OBSERVED THAT WE WERE PLEASED THAT SWAPO AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD ACCEPTED THE CONTACT GROUP REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON NAMIBIA. I EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE OAU WOULD BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THIS REPORT. TOLBERT SAID THAT HE AGREED. HE ADDED THAT THE GOL FELT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR PRIME MINISTER VORSTER TO AGREE THAT WALVIS BAY WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA. HE WARNED THAT THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS ARE TRYING TO PREVENT HARMONIOUS SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. HE FELT THAT IF VORSTER COULD BE PERSUADED TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT WALVIS BAY WAS A PART OF NAMIBIA, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO STAVE OFF SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT.

7. COMMENT: TOLBERT IS NATURALLY PLEASED, AND I THINK A LITTLE CONFIDENTIAL

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SURPRISED, THAT NETO HAS MADE THIS APPROACH, HE INTENDS AS HE PUT IT - "TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DO ALL WE CAN" TO FURTHER A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ANGOLAN & ZAIRE.
CARTER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESIDENT, PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MONROV05112
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780290-0988
Format: TEL
From: MONROVIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780757/aaaabvno.tel
Line Count: 140
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 99d30773-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 171696, 78 STATE 171521, 78 STATE 170380
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1997483
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VIEWS OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT ON SITUATION IN ZAIRE AND NAMIBIA; NETO ASKS TO MEET TOLBERT IN KHARTOUM.
TAGS: MARR, PORO, XA, LI, (TOLBERT, WILLIAM R)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/99d30773-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014